

# Evaluation of the Hattuşili-I Testament in the Context of the Threat Concept

## I. Hattuşili Vasiyetnamesinin Tehdit Anlayışı Kapsamında Değerlendirilmesi

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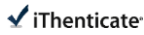
Geliş Tarihi/Received: 02.09.2024

Kabul Tarihi/Accepted: 12.12.2024

### Atf /Cite this article:

Uslu, S. & Topaloğlu, Y. (2025). Evaluation of the Hattuşili-I Testament in the Context of the Threat Concept. *Erzurum Teknik Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 21, 202-216.

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### Abstract

The will of Hittite King Hattuşili I encompass a plethora of information. The course will encompass a wide range of topics that illustrate the complex web of social, and interpersonal relationships among the Hittites. Moreover, this network of relationships incorporates aspects that manifest in diverse conceptions pertaining to existence. The notion of "danger" encompasses conflict, violence, anxiety, dread, risk, and trust. The will addresses the heir apparatus's selection, and upbringing, unstable subordinate societies, rebellions by dynasty members instigated by the populace or their elders, intra-dynastic conflicts, and incompatibilities with Hattuşili, as well as the actions, and penalties enacted by Hattuşili. The will also underscores additional significant matters, including duties to the deities, methods for sustaining physical, and mental well-being, and the potential harm to the integrity of the state, and its populace if Hattuşili's mandates, and prohibitions regarding virtuous, and moral conduct are disregarded, among others. The previously researched themes evidently connect to the discussed subjects.

**Keywords:** Threat, Fear, Trust, Conflict, Violence

### Öz

Hitit Kralı I. Hattuşili'nin vasiyetnamesi içeriği bakımından oldukça zengin bilgiler barındırmaktadır. Vasiyetnamenin, Hititlerin bireysel ve toplumsal anlamda çok yönlü bir ilişki ağını yansıtan birçok konuya temas ettiği görülmektedir. Vasiyetname bu ilişki ağı hayata dair birçok kavramın temsil ettiği unsurları da beraberinde getirmiştir. Bunlar arasında "tehdit" kavramı başta olmak üzere, kaygı, korku, risk, güven, güvenlik gereksinimi, çatışma ve şiddet kavramları gösterilebilir. Velihtin belirlenme ve yetiştirilme problemleri, kargaşaya neden olan tabi toplumlar, halkın veya ileri gelenlerinin kışkırtmasıyla hanedan mensuplarının çıkarttığı veya çıkartmaya çalıştığı isyanlar, hanedan içi olumsuzluklar ve Hattuşili ile uyumsuzlukları ile Hattuşili'nin uyguladığı yaptırım ve tedbirler vasiyetnamenin ihtiva ettiği konulardan arasındadır. Ayrıca Hattuşili'nin; halkın erdemli ve ahlaklı yaşamı için emir ve yasakları, bunlara uyulmadığı takdirde devlet bütünlüğünün ve halkının uğrayabileceği zararlar, tanrılara karşı görevler, zihinsel ve bedensel anlamda sağlıklı bir hayat sürdürülmesi için yapılması gerekenler vasiyetnamenin üzerinde durduğu diğer temel konuları oluştururken, bunların aynı zamanda bahsi geçen kavramlara yönelik birçok temayı da kapsadığı görülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Tehdit, Korku, Güven, Çatışma, Şiddet

## Introduction

Human beings are in a different position among living beings. He is in a constant state of motion with the abilities that make him unique, and unparalleled. Apart from feeding, moving, and sensory abilities that are common with other living things, thinking, and reasoning abilities are the most determining, and important characteristics of human beings. In this way, it has been possible to form, and express coherent, and logical thoughts. Thus, human beings have a different status from other creatures with senses, and perception (Cottingham, 2003: 11-12). Human beings, with their unique abilities, have developed various relationships in their struggle with nature (Ergun, 1995: 12-13). While carrying out activities for this purpose, he has also entered into economic, and political relations with other people. Thus, it has been seen that there is a relationship between production activity, and intellectual, social, and political structure. Therefore, communication, thought, consciousness, and language activities are the result of production (Yaylagül, 2006: 7). It is possible to evaluate this situation as an attempt to find, and prove one's own self in the face of nature. Man is the only being who can obtain data with his consciousness, act on the basis of them, and prove himself. Thus, he was able to be conscious of his own existence (Eyuboğlu, 1991: 6-7). The fact that human beings are conscious of their own existence is a knowledge of their ability to know, to understand, and their thoughts (Collingwood, 1996: 41, 247; Yıldırım, 2020: 2299-2317). Although human nature remains the same, periodic social, and political changes, and the differentiation of traditions have caused people to develop different attitudes towards events. Human beings have developed, and changed themselves according to the conditions, and have produced countless products with their thinking, and reasoning abilities. Among these products, it is also very important that it is an entity that can produce concepts (Çotuksöken, 1998: 12). Concepts can express object-based elements as well as abstract elements. The ability to make connections, and distinctions with time-related concepts is also very valuable. The content of the concepts that take place at every stage of human life is shaped by his/her environment, experiences, and mental structure (Aksan, 2006: 42; Neuman, 2014: 81). Concepts, which occupy such a large place in human life, have been used in other fields in addition to the fields related to them. (Güvenç, 1976: 19-21; Giddens-Sutton, 2018: 11; Marshall, 1999: 395; Kongar, 2011: 19). In the evaluation of the testament of Hattuşili-I within the framework of "threat understanding", the meaning of "threat", and related concepts for the individual, and society should be determined first.

## Threat Concept, and Related Concepts

It is also a fact that there are certain elements that distinguish the concepts that emerge within the scope of human behavior. It is necessary to evaluate the concept of threat together with other concepts. Thus, the concept of threat can be evaluated in a much broader, and more comprehensive manner. For this reason, concepts such as "threat", and "anxiety, fear, risk, trust, security, conflict, violence" should also be mentioned. In addition, it should not be ignored that these concepts are much more comprehensive, and are used in many different fields (Turgut, 1996: 233-245).

**Threat:** As a result of the content, it is seen in different characters depending on different reasons at every stage of life; from daily human relations to state relations in the international arena (Dedeoğlu, 2014: 9-10). This situation has made it difficult to make a common definition. Threat generally manifests itself in three ways: "The first is the risk of losing what is at hand. The second is the risk of not being able to obtain what is in the hands or influence of another actor or actors, and the risk of losing it to another power. The third is global threats that are not caused by any actor, independent of a single actor" (Elmas, 2013: 74). When defining threats, these types of graded threats should be taken as a point of convergence. Because in general terms, all three types of threats are interrelated (Dedeoğlu, 2014: 88).

The purpose of the threat is for one party to change the free preferences of the other party in line with its own will. Thus, the person subjected to the threat is forced to make a choice in line with the will of the threat maker (Tarhan, 2007: 24). Threats are dangerous situations that exist outside the actions, and control of individuals or organizations (Elmas, 2013: 74). Threat is a method of intimidating, and punishing the interlocutor who does not think, and act in the same direction, does not cooperate, does not fulfill his/her wishes. Threat can be coercive or preventive. "Coercive threat" means persuading a person to act or think in a certain way. "Preventive threat" is an attempt to prevent a person's thought or action (Tarhan, 2007: 24).

While a threat can express a real, and concrete danger situation (Elmas, 2013: 74), on the other hand, unreal or unlikely events can also be seen as threats. A danger that may never materialize is considered as real. In this sense, it can be seen as a waste of precautions (Dedeoğlu, 2014: 33). In a way, threat is a concept that expresses a situation *that "can be fought, and preparations can be made against its damages"* (Elmas, 2013: 74). In order to eliminate the threat, it often requires a greater deterrence. This deterrence usually requires the use of violence (Dedeoğlu, 2014: 82). In a way, this situation also reveals the emotional aspect of the threat. In fact, a threat is a situation that damages the inner peace, and sense of security of the exposed party, causing him to worry, and thus affecting his freedom of decision, and behavior (Tarhan, 2007: 24).

**Anxiety:** Although there is a conceptual distinction between the concept of fear, and the concept of anxiety, in actuality they are closely related concepts (Svendsen, 2017: 49). Anxiety is a perceived but unknown emotion (Morgan, 2011: 208). It also expresses concern about a possible danger in the future (Butcher-Mineka-Hooley, 2011: 330). While anxiety expresses a long

period of time (Cüceloğlu, 2006: 277), it is also a chronic event (Özakkaş, 2014: 10). Anxiety does not have an object towards which it is directed (Svendsen, 2017: 49). In other words, the object of anxiety is nothingness. Anxiety is always present, albeit periodically silent, and hidden (Deren, 1999: 115). The characterization of anxiety as a fear without an object shows that it is essentially an "*internal danger*" (Giddens, 2010: 64).

People's perception of a situation as anxiety depends on the way they perceive it. This is determined by the culture of their environment. Therefore, it is a relative situation which factors will cause anxiety. However, it is possible to generalize about the causes of anxiety. For this, it is necessary to explain some related definitions. The loss of support elements when the individual moves out of his/her environment is called "withdrawal of support". The situation that arises between the idea that is believed, and cared about, and the behavior is defined as "internal contradiction". Not knowing what will happen in the future is considered as "uncertainty" (Cüceloğlu, 2006: 277-278).

The state of conflict seen in the simultaneous occurrence of two or more needs in the individual is also one of the causes of anxiety. This situation causes goal-oriented behaviors to be interrupted or slowed down. The individual creates anxiety by being confronted with the fear of being blocked or hindered. In complex societies, individuals may find themselves in many conflict situations. Frustration is also the source of anger in general. Societies try to suppress this anger while at the same time preventing its expression. Some behavioral systems have become characteristic for reducing anxiety, and dealing with conflicts. These are forgetting, distorting motives, blaming others, finding excuses, fantasy, identification, infantilization, and glorification (Morgan 2011: 209, 214, 303).

The lack of an object of anxiety often causes the individual to be unable to express his/her anxiety. Most of the time, the individual accepts that his/her anxiety is unnecessary. This ambiguity of anxiety makes it important in the context of disturbing emotions. Anxiety should be considered in the context of the individual's overall security system, not only in relation to specific risks or dangers. Anxiety, and fear are separated when the individual perceives a threat to the integrity of the security system. (Geçtan, 1993: 86; Giddens, 2010: 63, 65; Salecl, 2014: 26). Although anxiety is generally negative, it can also be beneficial for humans. Behavioral anxiety can also serve as a strong suggestion to avoid dangerous situations by assuming the role of a harbinger, and a warning. It can contribute to planning, and preparation by informing the individual of the severity, and degree of danger. It is also seen that mild or moderate levels of anxiety contribute to learning, and performance (Butcher-Mineka-Hooley, 2013: 165; Özakkaş, 2014: 9-10).

**Fear:** It can be defined as the emotion that develops with the perception of an existing danger (Gall, 2012: 8-9). It can also be considered as an alarm response to danger (Butcher-Mineka-Hooley, 2011: 330). In order for fear to be informative, the threat must be taken into account, and in order for it to be taken seriously, it must be realized that it cannot be easily eliminated (Svendsen, 2017: 48). In a way, it has an "acute" character. It is more severe, and short-lived than anxiety (Cüceloğlu, 2006: 277; Özakkaş, 2014: 10).

Since fear always has an object to which it is directed, is used for situations where the cause is known. An object of fear does not always have to be a real object. Sometimes imaginary fears can also occur. When fear reaches its highest level, it freezes a person. This feeling can also be called "fright" or "terror" (Freedman, Sears & Carlsmith, 2003: 78-79; Morgan, 2011: 208; Svendsen, 2017: 48, 50). Therefore, startle, and terror are both types of fear, and are caused by unexpected reasons (Gall, 2012: 9). Fear has positive aspects as well as negative ones. It enables people to avoid threats to their health or interests. The typical behavior of a person in the face of fear is to run away. It is to get as far away from the feared object as possible, to put a barrier between oneself, and the object. Fear contributes to avoiding dangers by making people more prepared (Svendsen, 2017: 31, 42).

Although there are differences between anxiety, and fear, there are also similarities between them. Anxiety, and fear are emotional reactions developed against impending danger (Geçtan, 1993: 86), and contain the idea of possible harm (Svendsen, 2017: 49). However, both anxiety, and fear elicit certain physical symptoms (Geçtan, 1993: 86) psychologists have argued that the physiological formations that occur during fear can also be observed during anxiety. For this reason, psychologists use various biological symptoms such as heartbeat, blood pressure, chemical structure of the blood, breathing, exhalation rate to measure anxiety (Cüceloğlu, 2006: 227).

**Risk:** Due to its nature, it is used in many different fields. Each field has a definition for the concept of risk from its own perspective. This makes it difficult to make a common definition for the concept of risk. In social sciences, risk can be defined as "*the uncertain consequences of a situation or event to which people attribute value but which is in danger*" (Elmas, 2013: 76). The common aspect of all risk definitions is based on the distinction between reality, and probability. The concept of risk would have no meaning if "*the future was predetermined or independent of human activity*" (Furedi, 2001: 44). An outcome or losses incurred do not eliminates risks. They are based on the transfer of knowable losses of consequences into the future, a general loss of confidence or "*risk multipliers*" within the scope of probability. Risks are inherently related to foresight, to threats that have not yet occurred, but which express a reality in loss (Beck, 2011: 44-45). The meaning of risk is shaped by society's ability to cope with change, and the future. The way risk is perceived is determined by society, and its ideas of the future, and value judgments (Furedi, 2001: 44). Risks are essentially both real, and unreal (Beck, 2011: 45). The fact that probabilities lie at the

basis of risk has led to the inadequacy of definitional measurements as opposed to the predictability, and controllability of threats. In the degree of predictability of threats, it is possible to control, and combat them. While the potential effects of risks can be measured, it is difficult to determine their exact social impact. Risks draw attention to probabilities, and the extent of danger (Elmas, 2013: 77). Risks should not always mean harm. The need to evaluate it together with the possibilities of loss, and gain will contribute to a clear picture of whether it provides profit or loss (Dedeoğlu, 2014: 29). Risk presents a negative situation when it evokes the avoidance of undesired results. However, it can also be considered as a positive situation when it comes to making bold moves against possible future dangers (Giddens & Pierson, 2001: 222).

"Assurance", and "security", concepts that can be mentioned with risk, represent a different dimension of risk. In a way, trust is related to the binding of time, and space. Trust refers to commitment to a person, group or system in the future (Giddens & Pierson, 1998: 101).

**Trust, and Safety:** In order for an individual to survive in social life, he/she must basically have a sense of trust. Trust acts as a protective armor against risks, and dangers that arise in actions, and interactions in the environment. It is the feeling that individuals resort to in order to sustain their daily lives (Giddens, 2010: 59).

In return for a certain amount of physiological needs of the person, the need for trust manifests itself dominantly (İnanç & Yerlikaya, 2012: 317). The concept of trust brings with it the concept of "security". This concept manifests itself both individually, and socially at every stage of human life. This concept "*protection, and maintenance of existence*" is a phenomenon seen in the form of every behavior (Dedeoğlu, 2014: 27-28). From this perspective, security needs include being free from fear, anxiety, and chaos, safety, stability, protection, and order. The need for security manifests itself more clearly when the individual cannot make future inferences or sees social, and political stability under threat (İnanç & Yerlikaya, 2012: 317; Dedeoğlu, 2014: 27; Kumaş, 2018: 1497 - 1510).

The need for security can have positive or negative effects on the individual. The individual's effort to secure himself/herself through the need for security may also constitute an obstacle in terms of personality development. Full confidence will contribute to higher needs, and the effort to meet them (İnanç & Yerlikaya, 2012: 317). Security refers to the whole of anxiety at various levels for the individual. The safety of his/her relatives, and his/her own life, the safety of his/her property, and the continuity of security reveal the basic anxiety. Accordingly, individuals take a series of measures to address these concerns, and shape their lives accordingly (Dedeoğlu 2014: 27). Individual security situation is a situation seen in social, national, and international institutions, organizations, facts, and events. In the direct relationship between security, and purpose, the change, and development of the purpose manifests itself as an increase or differentiation in the perception of internal, and external threats. This creates new security searches (Dedeoğlu 2014: 35).

**Conflict:** Although there are differences in definitions in different disciplines, it is possible to define conflict as "*an interactive process that manifests itself in disagreement, and incompatibility within, and between social entities (individual, group, organization)*" (Rahim, 1992: 15, 18). Disagreement, confrontation, disagreement, contradiction are the basic elements of conflict (Koçel, 2011: 646). Conflicts arise due to various reasons. The causes of conflict can be listed as "values, interests, emotions, perceptions, behaviors, hopes, fears, knowledge, belief differences, goals, economic, social, political, and cultural factors, unmet needs, injustice, and inequalities, discrimination, and pressures, lack of dialogue, pursuit of power, and status" (Koçel, 2011, 645; Bağcı, 2013: 22). Although conflict has a negative meaning, this concept also has positive aspects. It contributes to the emergence of creative thoughts by providing focus. It reduces tensions. It can strengthen relationships when the right approach is taken. It helps groups, and organizations to review, and evaluate their goals. It initiates necessary initiatives against injustices (Ceylan & Giray, 2012: 178). Conflicts manifest themselves in a wide variety of ways, ranging from wars between countries, strikes, competition, simple anger, and hatred (Koçel, 2011: 645). It is seen that the actions taken by the society or parts of the society are somehow reciprocated by other parts of the society (Bağcı, 2013: 22).

**Violence:** As with other concepts, a common definition is not possible as a result of its meaning, and widespread use. However, any act that causes physical, and psychological harm that may pose a threat to another person can be considered as "violence". Violence should not be limited to attacks or threats against the physical integrity of others. It also includes rebellion, and aggression against the social order. The concept of violence, whatever its main characteristics, varies according to time, and society Violence can be seen as individual, and social. Individual, and social turmoil is also the source of aggression, and acts of violence (Köknel, 2000: 20). Disruption of the existing balance, and order refers to turmoil. In environments of violence, "*the inability to predict what will happen*" also creates an environment of insecurity (Michaud, 1991: 11; Ünsal, 1996: 30-31; Williams, 2012: 399-400). The distinction between "individual violence", and "social violence" should also be made. Individual violence can give rise to or represent social violence. However, social violence also feeds individual violence. In this relationship between individuals, and society, small groups play the main role. In this way, the tendency towards violence in society can increase, and become a culture. Violence can manifest itself in two types. In the first, violence manifests itself as a means of expression. Targets are harmed or deterred through violence. In the second, violence is at once individual, and collective. It has the appearance of a goal, like a heroic act that is ignored (Ünsal, 1996: 30; Karagöz, 2011: 14, Kılıç, 2023, 199).

It is necessary to evaluate violence, and the concept of "aggression" together for our purposes. Aggression is one of the basic instincts of living things. In fact, reasonable aggression is necessary for life (Köknel, 2000: 20) Reasonable aggression, and violence for adaptation contribute to the survival or protection of the individual, and society. An example of this can be the individual's or nation's fighting for self-defense against an enemy attack. In war, attacking the enemy, and violence are necessary, and essential for the protection of oneself, and one's country. The individual, his/her relatives or society being exposed to violence or threats of a violent nature, and feeling anxiety indirectly creates mental, and physical effects (Köknel, 2000: 22; Tınaz, 2011: 42)

In order to better understand what the will of Hattušili means in terms of these concepts, it is necessary to give a general information about the situation of the Hittite State in this period. The will was shaped according to the conditions of the period, and the results. According to the current situation, it is possible to consider the events of the period in general in two parts. The first one is the military campaigns carried out to dominate the surrounding political organizations within the scope of external influences. The second one is the rebellions, and internal disturbances involving the members of the dynasty, which also constitute the content of his will, within the scope of internal influences. The most important written documents of the Hattušili Period are the bilingual Akkadian, and Hittite annals, and wills (Collins, 1998: 15-20; Martino, 2006: 37).

### **Military Campaigns of Hattušili-I**

The foundations of the Hittites; who would dominate Anatolia for four hundred years; were laid by Hattušili-I in the capital Hattuša (Sagona & Zimansky, 2015: 230). Although controversial, the reign of Hattušili, the founder of the Hittite State, is approximately between 1650-1620 BC (Ünal, 2002: 66). Annals describing Hattušili's military campaigns, and actions were found in Boğazköy (CTH 4: KBo X I, Alp, 2001: 65-67; CTH 4: KBo X 2; Dinçol, 1982: 29; Bryce, 1983: 50-55). Hittites aimed to expand beyond their borders since their foundation. The main reasons for this can be listed as the idea of creating a great state, the desire to control large territories, and societies, and the goal of economic empowerment. In line with these objectives, Hittites started to pursue a policy of expansion for economic wealth. The Hattušili annals provide information that expeditions were made every year to a different side for booty (Dinçol, 1982: 29; Atila, 2018: 161 - 190; Klinger, 2019: 47-48). The most important of these expeditions are as follows:

Hattušili first organized an expedition to the cities of *Šahuitta* (*Šanauitta* /*Šanahuitta*), and *Zalbar* (*Zalpa*) on the Black Sea coast, from which he obtained large booty. *Šahuitta* was a city that had rebelled before. The direction of Hattušili's first campaign was to prevent a possible rebellion. The control of *Šahuitta* strengthened the Hittite dominance in Anatolia before the Syrian campaign. It is important that the city of *Zalbar* was destroyed, and its gods (god statues) were taken to Hittite temples (CTH 4: KBo X I, Alp, 2001: 65; CTH 4: KBo X 2, Bryce, 1983: 50, 55, 62; Martino, 2006: 38; Brandau & Schickert, 2011: 40; Kılıç, 2021: 329-333).

Hattušili destroyed *Alalah* (*Tell-Açana*) of the Yamhad Kingdom during his Syrian campaign the following year. This city, which dominates the Anatolian-Syrian transportation routes, is an important point for the domination of Northern Syria. He then organized an expedition to *Uršu* (*Urfa?*). *Uršu* was destroyed, and the expedition returned to the center with spoils (CTH 4: KBo X I, Alp, 2001: 65; CTH 4: KBo X 2; Dinçol, 1982: 29; Bryce, 1983: 51; Martino, 2006: 38). The capture of these cities prevented threats from the Hurri lands, and ensured the security of the Northern Syria route. In the following year, Hattušili launched an expedition against *Arzawa* in western Anatolia. While obtaining a booty consisting of herds of cattle from Arzawa, his country was attacked from the Hanigalbat region, probably by the Hurrians. With this attack, all lands except Hattuša were lost. The Hittite-Hurrian struggle continued for a long time after this event (CTH 4: KBo X I, Alp, 2001: 65; CTH 4: KBo X 2, Bryce, 1983: 51; Kinal, 1987: 87; Martino, 2006: 37; Bryce, 2020: 32).

In order to recover, Hattušili first secured the core region in the Halys arc, and then the southern, and southeastern territories. *Ulma* (*Ulama*) was among the cities destroyed in the region (Brandau & Schickert 2011: 44). The following year, Hattušili organized another expedition to *Šahuitta*, which he had previously taken under his control, and destroyed the city. Thus, the lands that had rebelled against the Hittite authority were once again under his control (CTH 4: KBo X I, Alp, 2001: 65; CTH 4: KBo X 2, Bryce, 1983: 52; Bryce, 2020: 32). The following year Hattušili organized another campaign against the enemy *Alalah*, and destroyed the city (CTH 4: KBo X I, Alp, 2001: 65; CTH 4: KBo X 2, Bryce, 1983: 52). Hattušili's campaigns in Southeastern Anatolia, and Syria continued the following year, and the city of *Haššu* (*Hassuwa*) was destroyed. He brought the spoils, and the gods of the city to his own country. Hittite armies then captured *Hahhu* (*Hahha*) near *Samsat* (CTH 4: KBo X I, Alp, 2001: 66; CTH 4: KBo X 2, Bryce, 1983: 53; Martino, 2006: 39).

It is seen that Hattušili organized a campaign for *Aleppo* during his Syrian campaigns. However, it is stated that Hattušili could not take Aleppo despite destroying it in the agreement made by Šuppiluliuma I, who was to succeed to the throne after Hattušili, with Talmi-Šarruma, the King of Aleppo. Instead, Muršili I realized this goal, and destroyed *Aleppo*, and its kingdom (Akurgal, 2005: 64). Hattušili is thought to have died of an illness during the Aleppo campaign or during the period when his will was written. Muršili I's bilingual Akkadian, and Hittite Aleppo treaty states that an expedition was organized to Aleppo, and Hattušili was avenged. However, the Boğazköy documents indicate that Hattušili had already achieved victory in *Aleppo* (Kinal, 1987: 87).



**Image-1 Testament of Hattušili-I**

([www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/mousepic.php?ori=&po=0&si=100&bildnr=BoFN06631&fundnr=VAT%2013064&xy=558a0432a2781c9bc288152f46afc303](http://www.hethport.adwmainz.de/fotarch/mousepic.php?ori=&po=0&si=100&bildnr=BoFN06631&fundnr=VAT%2013064&xy=558a0432a2781c9bc288152f46afc303) (Last Access Date: 19.01. 2023))

### **Elements of Threat in the Testament of Hattušili-I**

The cuneiform document called the Testament of Hattušili was found bilingually in Akkadian, and Hittite in Boğazköy. Although the cause of Hattušili's death is unknown, he dictated his will as a patient in *Kuššara* (Dinçol, 1982: 28; Bryce, 2003: 26). "*Tabarna spoke to the ranks of the army, and the dignitaries: I am sick.*" It can be said that Hattušili, who started his will with the words "*I am sick*", identified the ranks, and dignitaries of the army as his target audience. Because it is seen that these two elements played a major role in the turmoil in the Hittite country. Hattušili's use of the title "*Tabarna*<sup>1</sup>", which means ruler or sovereign, at the beginning of his words can also be interpreted as emphasizing his authority, and power. If power is considered as the ability to influence the behavior of others, authority is the right to do so (Heywood, 2015: 52). As a king, Hattušili is the only person who directs Hittite society with his orders, and prohibitions. Perhaps, as a sick king, he must have wanted the state authority, and power to be used for the benefit of the state, and its society even after him with the orders, and prohibitions in his will. Otherwise, it can be said that he continues his threat with the warning of many negative things that will happen to them. "*I have appointed young Labarna for you: He will sit safely on the throne!*" (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 79; Alp, 2001: 68). In this sense, Hattušili seems to have determined the successor who would lead the Hittites after him, and wanted to ensure that no harm would come to him. It is clear from his statements that the Hittite state, and society had to deal with some problems. At the root of this situation; it can be said that the rebellions for the throne struggles in which the members of the dynasty were also involved with the provocations of various city peoples, and nobles. Although the content of "rebellion", which manifests itself on the basis of individual, group, society or state, can be defined in different ways, it is possible to state the common aspects of these definitions. Rebellion is a reaction to the destruction or change of the order as a result of dissatisfaction with the order for a purpose. It refers to situations where there is no reconciliation between the rebelling elements, and the elements to which the

<sup>1</sup> Since the controversial first king or nickname of the Hittites was "Labarna", subsequent Hittite kings used it as a title. "Tabarna" meaning "sovereign" was sometimes used for the king as "Labarna" (Akurgal, 2005: 56).

rebellion is directed. Activities aimed at realizing the purpose of rebellion can manifest themselves in forms such as non-submission, disobedience, defiance, protest, taking a stand or defiance. In addition, these activities may also be characterized by conflict, and violence such as breaking the law, violating the law, excessive, and violent behavior (Moore, 2007: 1-2; Conable-Libicki, 2010: 202; Galula, 1964: 4). There is a wide range of content regarding the elements in which rebellion is mentioned in the Testament. These rebellions are threats to the integrity, and security of the Hittite state, and society. The threat, which can manifest itself at every stage of life (Dedeoğlu, 2014: 9-10), was also evident in the life of the Hittite State, and society. Within the current situation, it can also be said that variations of the theme of threat in various forms are dominant throughout the will. It can also be seen that this is especially evident for those who are or could be in the administrative level of the state. It should be taken into account that threat refers to dangerous situations that arise against the will of individuals or institutions, depending on the existence of a counter-actor (Elmas, 2013: 74) Ḫattušili 's threat is one side of the threat, while the elements that cause turmoil through rebellions, and throne fights are the other side. The threat, which can also manifest itself in the form of "the risk of losing what is at hand", may also mean that Ḫattušili may lose these as a result of negative situations that may come to the state, and society (Elmas, 2013: 76; Dedeoğlu, 2014: 88). In this case, it can also be said that Ḫattušili was in a state of "fear", and "anxiety" due to the negativities that could pose a threat to the Hittite State. Considering that fear is the perception of an existing danger whose cause is known or the reaction that can develop in case of a danger, rebellion, and throne struggles are "danger" situations for Ḫattušili (Morgan, 2011: 208; Gall, 2012: 8-9). Considering that anxiety refers to the perceived but unknown possible future dangers, the uncertainty of the future of the Hittite State can be considered as "anxiety" for Ḫattušili (Butcher, Mineka & Hooley, 2011: 330; Morgan, 2011: 208).

*"I, the king, had chosen him as my son. I guided, and cared for him constantly. But he showed a youth unworthy of him. He shed no tears. He showed no compassion. He was callous. He was heartless." (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 79; Alp, 2001: 68; Yıldırım, 2021: 287-308).*

According to the above section of Ḫattušili's will, it is understood that although he provided all kinds of opportunities to his nephew, whom he regarded as his son, his trust in him was shaken. "Trust" assumes a protective mission against risks, and dangers in order for the individual to survive in social life, and in the relationships carried out in the current environment (Giddens, 2010: 59). In order for Ḫattušili to maintain his relations in a healthy way, of course, he must have people around him whom he could trust. According to the will, it can be said that Ḫattušili did not have many people around him whom he could trust.

*I, the king, arrested him, and brought him to my court: What is this? No one shall ever again raise his sister's child (as a stepson)! But he did not obey the king. He always took the advice of his mother, that serpent. His brothers, and sisters were always giving him cold words, and he always listened to their words. I, the king, heard, and indeed argued with him" (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 79; Alp, 2001: 68).*

As it can be understood from these words of Ḫattušili, he summoned his nephew, whom he nominated as the heir apparent, to his side, and in a way held him to account for his negative behavior. The failure of the heir apparent to obey his words can be interpreted as a disregard of his authority. It is also important that the members of the dynasty provoked the heir apparent. Accordingly, it can be observed that there was a "conflict" between Ḫattušili, and the members of the dynasty. Considering that the basic elements of conflict are disagreement, opposition, and antagonism, themes related to Ḫattušili, and the dynasty members can be frequently encountered (Koçel, 2011: 646). It is stated in the later parts of the will that the state of "conflict" would turn into "violence" by involving a wider environment:

*"But enough!" (I said). 'He is no longer my son!' Then his mother bellowed like an ox: 'They plucked my calf from my living womb like a cow, and dethroned him. (And now) you will kill him!' But have I, the king, done him any evil? Did I not elevate him to the priesthood? I have always set him apart for goodness, and kindness. Yet he showed no compassion for the king's orders. How then can he show compassion to Ḫattuša by himself?" (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 79; Alp, 2001: 68).*

The element considered as a "threat" can refer to concrete, and real danger in one aspect, but it can also refer to intangible, and unlikely danger situations (Elmas, 2013: 74; Dedeoğlu, 2014: 33). It can be said that Ḫattušili issued a warning to his nephew, and members of the dynasty, who were a "potential threat" that could create unrest through rebellions against him, and the state. His removal of his nephew from the heirship can be considered as a "precaution" in the sense that the threat could be fought, and prepared for (Elmas, 2013: 74). Ḫattušili 's behavior may also have been considered as a "threat" against his son's life by his sister. As a matter of fact, the sister's words reflected in the will suggest that she was "afraid" or "worried" about such a situation. However, Ḫattušili proved her fears unfounded.

Ḫattušili, and the members of the dynasty were trying to ensure their own interests or to make their views dominant in a "conflict" situation (Koçel, 2011: 646). In fact, it is observed that Ḫattušili acts in the direction of imposing his authority, and power, while the members of the dynasty act in the opposite direction. *"His mother is a serpent. Now (first) he will listen to*

*the words of his mother, and his brothers.*" (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 79; Alp, 2001: 68).

Although Ḫattušili seems to have tried to dispose of his nephew in a moderate way, it can also be said that he did not achieve any results. Ḫattušili states that the behavior of Ḫattušili 's sister, and members of his household did not change:

*"And he will come near to take revenge! To my soldiers, my dignitaries, and my subjects who surround the king? king, he will swear: 'They will be slain because of the king!' So, he will go on destroying them. He will begin to shed blood, and will have no fear! It will be so that he will approach the citizens of Ḫattuša without looking to take their cattle, and sheep, no matter who (owns) them. I... kept my external enemies..., and my country(?) in peace(?). After that he will not be respected..."* (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 79; Alp, 2001: 68).

Although Ḫattušili's statements suggest that he was on the "threatened" side, it can also be said that he was on the "threatening" side. Considering that threatening is a method of intimidating, and punishing the addressee when it is against the will of the threatening party, it can be said that the situation of "conflict", and "violence" that the state or society will be exposed to in case of the dauphin's rebellion is expressed in a threatening manner (Tarhan, 2007: 24). With this threatening tone, Ḫattušili may have also wanted to prevent the possibility that the soldiers, nobles, and subjects would support the deposed heir.

*"He will no longer go down freely (because he was exiled from Ḫattuša). Now I have given my son Labarna a house, I have given him a lot of arable land, I have given him a lot of sheep. He will continue to eat, and drink (as long as he is full). As long as he shows the best behavior, he will come (to visit Hattusa). But if he starts to make trouble(?) or (spread) any slander or..., he will not be allowed to go out (again), he will stay in his own mansion."* (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 79-80; Alp, 2001: 68).

If they considered the fight against the threat, and being prepared for destruction as a "threat", it means that they had knowledge, and equipment about the other side (Elmas, 2013: 74). It can be said that Ḫattušili's moderate measures of first warning the deposed dauphin not to rebel gradually became more radical. Indeed, Ḫattušili may be considered to have sufficient knowledge, and equipment to eliminate this threat. It can also be said that Ḫattušili's activities emphasized the "preventive" character of the threat. A preemptive threat is carried out in order to prevent a person's thought or action (Tarhan, 2007: 24). Ḫattušili sent the deposed dauphin, who had the potential to put the state at risk by dragging it into conflict, and violence, into exile to prevent him from causing unrest. With this practice, Ḫattušili not only ensured the security of himself, and his state, but also that of the deposed dauphin. This is evidenced by the fact that he gave him property, land, and land for his survival. It can be said that Ḫattušili "threatened" the deposed crown prince that he would not be allowed to leave the territory allocated to him in case he caused trouble or slandered him.

*"Muršili is my son. You must recognize him. You must put him on the throne... In place of the lion, the god will put (another) lion. And when a call for mobilization is made, or perhaps when a rebellion becomes serious, you, my subjects, and nobles, must help my son."*

*"... (Only) after three years (have passed) will he go on campaign. For the time being, I will make him a valiant king. If (this) is not yet (the case) for the time being, still honor(?) him. He is in the lineage of your ruler. Raise him to be a valiant king. If you take him to fight (with you) when he is still a child, bring him back safe, and sound. Your dynasty will be united like that of the wetna, and this... His subjects are born of one mother."* (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 69).

It is seen that Ḫattušili reported the new heir Muršili ' ' after eliminating the possible rebellion threat of his deposed nephew. Ḫattušili 's expressions towards the young heir can clearly reveal his security. The "need for security" refers to safety, stability, protection, and order, as well as being free from fear, anxiety, and chaos (İnanç & Yerlikaya, 2012: 317; Dedeoğlu, 2014: 27-28). It is only natural that Ḫattušili would want the safety of the young heir to the throne. So much so that if something were to happen to the young heir, the Hittite State after Ḫattušili' could be dragged into an environment of conflict again due to throne fights, and rebellions. It can also be said that Ḫattušili, in a way, took a "risk" by entrusting the young heir Muršili' to his subjects, and nobles, and put Muršili in danger. It can also be said that there is no certainty whether anything will happen to Muršili or not.

*"One liver, one set of lungs, and one set of ears are allotted for you all. Do not compete with each other for superiority. Let none of you be the enemy (of another). Let none of you transgress (this) commandment. You must not commit crimes as the cities of Šindhu (Šinahuwa), and Ubariya did. Let slander not find a place among you. If this happens, my son will fulfill my orders against you."* (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 69).

Ḫattušili, after having clearly named Muršili as the heir apparent, laid down his orders that resembled a kind of advice.



Ḫattušili stated that everyone was the same by creation, and no one was superior to anyone else. He ordered that no one should have enmity against each other, and slander should be avoided. Ḫattušili also cited as an example that the cities of *Šindhu* (*Šinahuwa*), and *Ubariya* did not obey these orders, and committed crimes. Ḫattušili; here, it can be said that by addressing his subjects, Ḫattušili also revealed a "threatening" tone that the new heir-apparent would do what was necessary if his orders, and words were not obeyed.

*"Let no one think: 'The King does as he pleases in secret: 'Whether it really is so or not, I can prove my innocence.' Such a slander will never be proved true." CTH 6: KUB I 16 = Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 69).*

It is seen that Ḫattušili nominated a successor without consulting the Pankuš, which was in the nature of a consultative assembly, although he wanted to be consulted (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65, Kinal, 1953: 23; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 81; Alp, 2001: 71). In this sense, Ḫattušili's statements in the text suggest that he went to great lengths to explain, and justify his actions (Bryce, 2005: 90-91). *"Instead, you who now accept my advice, and wisdom, teach my son wisdom."* (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 69). Ḫattušili then went on to ask that Muršili be trained as a sage like himself because he thought that his wisdom was recognized or seen by his elders. It is seen that Ḫattušili made requests from his subjects who had the potential to drag the country into turmoil. Because their support is necessary in the upbringing of the young heir apparent (Bryce, 2005: 90-91). This situation can again be considered as a "risk" for Muršili's security.

*"My son, think about Ḫuzziya's situation: I, the king, have made him lord over the city of Tappaššanda but the people there have taken his attention, and spoken foully to him. Rebel against your father. The great estates of Tappaššanda were not exempted from taxes, and drudgery, but you will grant exemption" (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 69).*

Ḫattušili cited the case of Ḫuzziya, his own son, as an example of the people of the city inciting the members of the dynasty to revolt. Those in the city of *Tappaššanda* tempted Ḫuzziya for their own interests, and incited him to revolt. Ḫattušili considered this situation, which he saw as a danger for his state, and himself, as a "threat", and took measures to eliminate the rebellion. *"Let none of you hinder each other for his own benefit, nor promote each other for his own benefit."* (CTH 6: KUB I 16 = Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 69). Ḫattušili asked his subjects not to obstruct, and promote each other for the sake of their interests. This is because such activities may bring about greater negativities in the society in terms of conflicts of interest. When this situation is evaluated from the point of view of the state, it can also be considered that it may create risks in terms of ensuring security.

*"The elders will not continue to talk to you, the members of the dynasty. My son will not be called... The elders of my son Ḫattuša will not speak to you. Not a Kuššar person, nor a Ḫemuwa person, nor a Tamalikya person, nor a Zalpa person, nor anyone from the general population will speak to you" (CTH 6: KUB I 16 = Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 69).*

Throne disputes involving members of the dynasty, and resulting in rebellions were perhaps considered as one of the biggest factors "threatening" the state. One of the main reasons for the members of the dynasty to enter into rebellion can be shown as the incitement of the nobles, and the people. Ḫattušili forbade Muršili to meet or talk to the members of these groups, in short, to communicate with them in any way. The aim here was to prevent the members of the dynasty from being provoked, and rebelling.

*"... I have dethroned King, Ḫuzziya." (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 69-70). After Ḫattušili eliminated Ḫuzziya's rebellion by deposing him, he dealt with his daughter's rebellion.*

*"... The people of Ḫattuša became my enemies. They got the attention of my daughter. And ever since she had a son, they were hostile to me, and said to her about it: 'There is no heir to your father's throne. One of the subjects will sit on the throne. One of the subjects will be king.' And moreover, he turned the city of Ḫattuša, and its great families into traitors, so the high nobles, and courtiers became hostile to me. So, he provoked the whole country." (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 69-70).*

In Ḫattuša, the people seduced, and provoked the daughter of Ḫattušili, and caused her to rebel against her father. In doing so, they suggested to her that her father had no heir, and that he had made one of his subjects the heir while a noble like you had a son. It can be said that this attitude of theirs fueled the conflict between the parties. While Ḫattušili's daughter was provoked in this way, it was observed that she herself provoked Ḫattuša, big families, courtiers, and prominent nobles against her father. Thus, the whole state was incited against Ḫattušili.

*"Because of his enmity the citizens of Ḫattuša were killed... but these people... he killed. As for the citizens of Ḫattuša: from the person whose ox was taken, from the person whose ram was taken, from the person whose vineyard was taken, and from the person whose field was taken, his threshing floor, and servants(?) were also taken. His oxen, and sheep(?) were killed(?)." (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 70).*

The rebellion of Ḫattušili's daughter brought turmoil in Ḫattuša, and consequently conflict, and violence. The people of Ḫattuša paid for this situation with their lives, and property. In a way, it can be said that this situation damaged the environment of trust", which is necessary for the existence of societies, and individuals in the country (Dedeoğlu, 2014: 27-28).

*"Now... both these... subjects of the king... took them..., and the artisans..., and their fields. Do I, the king, know nothing about this...? (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 70).*

It can be said that Ḫattušili was also aware of the fact that these negative situations were the result of her daughter's attitude, and behavior: *"When I heard that you executed the citizens of Ḫattuša, I expected a tear or regret from you for them."* (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 70). Ḫattušili again took measures in the face of the threat to both himself, and the country. In this sense, he first summoned his daughter to him, and asked her the reasons for bringing the country to such a state. Accordingly, he sought regret in his daughter for these events.

*"If I had not expected these things from you, you would have slandered me with your own tongue: 'He drove away your daughter.' I, the king, did nothing to him. Then he said: 'Why did you give me so little?' I, the king, answered: 'If I had not given you a little, if I had given you more cattle, if I had given you more sheep, I would be drinking the blood of the land.'" (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80; Alp, 2001: 70).*

He also considered the possibility that his daughter might slander him if he did not expect such a thing from her. However, according to her daughter's testimony, it seems that she engaged in such activities because she was given little property. Perhaps the "conflict" between Ḫattušili's daughter, and himself is based on this reason. Because conflicts of interest are among the many reasons underlying conflict (Bağcı, 2013: 22).

*"This girl had disgraced (?) my person (?), and my name, so I, as king, took her from Ḫattuša, and brought her here. Then I exchanged land for land, and cattle for cattle. She rejected her father's promise, and drank the life blood of the citizens of Ḫattuša" (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80-81; Alp, 2001: 70).*

It can be said that Ḫattušili emphasized that although Ḫattušili provided all kinds of opportunities to his daughter, the rebellions that broke out in Ḫattuša as a result of her negative behavior caused great harm to the people, which was embarrassing for him.

*"He has now been banished from the city. If he had come to my household, he would surely have dispersed my household. If he had come to Ḫattuša once more, he would have revolted. He has been allocated a house(?) in the countryside, where he will stay, eat, and drink." (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 80-81; Alp, 2001: 70).*

Ḫattušili must have continued to see the possibility of his daughter's starting a second rebellion as a "threat". Taking into account that a threat refers to a state of "danger", and has a "precautionary" aspect it can be said that Ḫattušili was aware of the threat, and took precautions. In this sense, Ḫattušili exiled his daughter from Ḫattuša, and brought her to Kuššara where he dictated this will. It can also be said that Ḫattušili saw his daughter as a "potential threat" to both himself, and his state, and feared that she might cause discord among the dynasty or nobility when she came to his residence. *"You will not harm her in any way. He has harmed me, but I will not harm him in return."* (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 81; Alp, 2001: 70). Ḫattušili, referring to the heir Muršili', whom he now considers as his son, did not ask him to harm his daughter, even though she had caused him, and the Hittite society a lot of harm. Even in this case it can be said that Ḫattušili was concerned about her daughter's safety. In this way, Ḫattušili may have prevented Muršili from engaging in a possible act of revenge. *"She would not call me father, so I will not call her daughter."* (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 81; Alp, 2001: 70). Nevertheless, it can be seen that the state of "conflict" between Ḫattušili, and his daughter, characterized by "disagreement", and "disagreement", continued (Koçel, 2011: 646).

*"No one from my family has ever obeyed my command."* (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman 2000: 81; Alp 2001: 70). From these statements of Ḫattušili, it can be seen that Ḫattušili in a way reproaches the members of the dynasty for not obeying the orders, and prohibitions of Muršili until he was declared the new heir apparent.

*"But you, my son Muršili, must listen to this. Keep your father's words. If you are to keep your father's word, you must eat only bread, and drink only water. When the peak of young adulthood is within you, eat two or three meals a day,*

*and indulge yourself. But when old age comes, set aside your father's word, and drink to the full" (=Bo TU 8) + KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 81; Alp, 2001: 70).*

Ḫattušili then expected Muršili to do what the members of the dynasty did not do, and asked him to strictly follow his orders, and prohibitions, and at the same time to pay attention to them. Ḫattušili can also be said to have given advice that could be beneficial for physical, and mental health.

*"You are my foremost subjects. You must keep my words; they are the king's words. You may eat only bread, and drink only water. Then Ḫattuša will stand tall, and my land will be at peace. But if you do not keep the king's word, you will not live long(?), you will perish. Whoever breaks the king's words, he is now... mine... Such a person should not be a high-ranking servant. His throat(?) should be cut." (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 81; Alp, 2001: 70-71).*

Ḫattušili addressed his subjects, and Muršili, and "threatened" them by telling them to obey his orders, and prohibitions, otherwise bad things might happen. Ḫattušili listed the negative situations that would occur if his orders were not obeyed, and used them as an element of intimidation, and punishment due to the nature of threats against his subjects. On the other hand, it can be said that he tried to increase the impact of his words by citing the events that took place in his grandfather's time.

*"Did not his sons set aside the words of my grandfather...? In Šanahuitta my grandfather had proclaimed his son Labarna (heir to the throne). But then his subjects, and the high nobility overturned his words, and put Papahdilmah on the throne. How many years passed, and how many escaped their fate? Where are the households of the high nobles? Have they not perished?" (CTH 6: KUB I 16 = Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 81; Alp, 2001: 70-71).*

Accordingly, Ḫattušili recalled the events that took place during the reign of his grandfather, and stated that his sons broke his grandfather's promises, and that although he made his son Labarna the heir to the throne in the city of Šanahuitta, his subjects, and notables ignored this, and put Papahdilmah on the throne. He stated that they all perished afterwards. Afterwards, Ḫattušili continues to list his orders, and prohibitions, and continues to use the negative consequences that will occur if they are not followed as a means of "threat".

*"You are my subjects; you must keep the words of King Labarna the Great. As long as you keep them, Ḫattuša will stand firm, and you will give peace to your land. You must eat only bread, and drink only water. But if you do not keep them, your land will be controlled by foreigners. Pay close attention to your duties to the gods. Their sacrificial bread, their drink, their stew(?), and their food must always be ready. You, Muršili, must not delay or fall behind in fulfilling them. If you delay them, it will be as bad as before..." (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 81; Alp, 2001: 71).*

However, it can also be said that Ḫattušili directed his "threatening" tone against Muršili after reminding his subjects of their duties to the gods. So much so that he asked Muršili not to delay, and postpone his orders. Otherwise, he stated that bad situations may occur for the country as in previous times. The picture that emerged can be considered as a method of punishment for both Muršili, and the Hittite people who will be under his rule.

*"The great King Labarna spoke to his son Muršili: 'I have given you, my promises. They will read this tablet aloud before you every month. So, you will be able to engrave my words, and wisdom in your heart, and rule my subjects, and the high nobles successfully. If you see any offense in anyone, whether it be a crime before a god or irresponsible words, consult the council. When slandered, consult the same assembly. ' (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 81; Alp, 2001: 71).*

The importance that Ḫattušili attached to the implementation of his commandments, and prohibitions to ensure the existence, and unity of the Hittite State, and society can be understood from the fact that he wanted Muršili to be constantly reminded of them. It can also be said that Ḫattušili wanted his commandments, and prohibitions to be read in Muršili's presence every month, in a way aiming for him to internalize them. In addition, he ordered that the assembly should be consulted in all possible adverse situations. Although Ḫattušili acted without consulting the assembly in the appointment of Muršili as the heir apparent, his stance on consulting the assembly can be considered that he still gave importance to the assembly in a way. With this attitude, it can be said that Ḫattušili also assigned Muršili the task of joint struggle against threats to protect, and sustain the existence of his state, and society, and to ensure its security.

*"The great King Labarna says to Ḫaštayar many times: 'Don't leave me!' The courtiers say to him that the king should not speak to him like that: 'Now he is still consulting the old woman. The King says to them: 'Is he still consulting the Old Woman now? I don't know.' Then the King says to Ḫaštayar: Don't leave me from now on! No! Always consult only me. I will explain my words to you. Wash me properly, hold me in your bosom, and protect me from the earth in your bosom.'" (CTH 6: KUB I 16 =Bo TU 8, KUB XL 65; Sommer & Falkenstein 1938; Beckman, 2000: 81; Alp, 2001: 71).*

At the end of his will, Ḫattušili perhaps thought that his life was coming to an end. In this case, even if there was no real threat, Ḫattušili could be said to be in a state of "anxiety", and "fear". This can only be explained by impending death. Even though anxiety refers to a perceived but unexplained fear, and in a sense, nothingness, the uncertainty of the possibility of death, the unknown or nothingness Ḫattušili may have caused Ḫattušili to feel "anxiety" (Deren, 1999: 115; Morgan, 2011: 208). Moreover, the presence of an obvious cause, such as death, can be expressed as a sense of "fear" of a dangerous situation (Morgan, 2011: 208; Gall, 2012: 8-9). Perhaps death will be the biggest, and last danger he/she will be exposed to in his/her life. Although anxiety, and fear can sometimes be seen as prompting the individual to take precautions, and be prepared for the dangers that threaten him/her, this is not the case for death (Özakkaş, 2014: 9-10; Butcher, Hooley & Mineka, 2013: 65; Svendsen, 2017: 42). Because "security" is based on the continuation, and protection of existence (Dedeoğlu, 2014: 27-28). Accordingly, for Ḫattušili, death may also signify the final development of the continuation of his existence. So much so that his taking refuge in Ḫaštayar, and feeling safe with him may be an indication of this situation.

## Conclusion

The Testament of the Hittite King I. Ḫattušili can be said to focus on two main issues in general. The first one is the rebellions, and unfavorable situations arising from the struggle for the throne in which the members of the dynasty were involved with the provocation of the people, and nobles. The second one is the introduction of Muršili as the heir, his upbringing, and what he should or should not do to be a good ruler. In addition to these, it can be stated that Ḫattušili's recommendations for living a just, moral, and healthy life in social, and individual terms are among other issues. In fact, the measures taken to overcome the problems caused by grooms joining the Hittite royal family through marriage are also very important.

According to the Testament of Ḫattušili; the rebellions of his grandfather's period were experienced or threatened in his own period. These are the rebellions of his nephew, whom he designated as the heir apparent, and his son, and daughter. According to the text, the rebellions jeopardized the security of the Hittite State, and caused damage to life, and property, leading to conflicts, and violence among the people. Perhaps Ḫattušili perceived the current situation as a "threat", and took various measures to eliminate this threat. First, he deposed his son, and nephew from the crown. He exiled his nephew, son, and daughter from the capital Ḫattuša so that they would not cause such a situation again. Although they were always in a negative attitude, Ḫattušili allocated properties to them to sustain their lives even in exile, and in a way, she also ensured their safety. Here, it is important that Hittite queens always existed as a "threat" element, apart from their periodically controversial increasing, and decreasing roles. As far as we can see, the main reason why queens or women were pushed to the background was that they created negative situations by influencing the kings. Therefore, it can be assumed that Hittite women were at least influential within the dynasty. Their threatening behavior against the state, and the king created "fear", and led to the disappearance of the "atmosphere of trust". Perhaps, among the dynasty members mentioned in Ḫattušili's will, it is the women who harbor the element of threat the most.

Ḫattušili, also considered the negative attitude of the dynasty members towards him as a "threat". As far as the text reveals, the disagreements, disharmony, and antagonisms between him, and the members of the dynasty indicate that there was a conflict between the parties. It can also be said that this conflict may be at the root of the constant rebellion of the dynasty members. Of course, in the emergence of such a conflict situation, the attitudes, and behaviors of the people, notables, and nobles aimed at provoking the members of the dynasty should not be ignored. Leaving the task of the security, and upbringing of the young heir Muršili to those who caused the emergence of this negative situation can be considered as an indication that Ḫattušili took a "risk" in a sense.

It can be said that Ḫattušili was both on the threatened, and the threatening side depending on the situation. In fact, his statement that the necessary sanctions, and penalties will be imposed if various orders are not obeyed for the survival of the Hittite State is an indication of this situation. In a way, it can be said that he strengthened his threat by stating that Muršili would apply these sanctions, and punishments even if he could not apply them himself. It can also be said that Ḫattušili displayed a conciliatory attitude towards the negative attitudes, and behaviors of the members of the dynasty.

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**Yazar Katkıları:** Fikir %50-50, Tasarım %50-50, Denetleme- %50-50, Kaynaklar %50-50, Veri Toplanması ve/veya İşlemesi %50-50, Analiz ve/ veya Yorum %50-50, Literatür Taraması %50-50; Yazıyı Yazan %50-50, Eleştirel İnceleme %50-50.

**Hakem Değerlendirmesi:** Dış bağımsız.

**Çıkar Çatışması:** Yazarlar, çıkar çatışması olmadığını beyan etmiştir.

**Finansal Destek:** Yazarlar, bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

**Etik Kurul Belgesi:** Etik kurul onay belgesi gerektirmemektedir.

**Author Contributions:** Concept %50-50, Design %50-50, Supervision %50-50, Resources %50-50, Data Collection and/or Processing %50-50, Analysis and/or Interpretation %50-50, Literature Search-%50-50, Writing Manuscript-%50-50, Critical Review %50-50.

**Peer-review:** Externally peer-reviewed.

**Conflict of Interest:** The authors have no conflicts of interest to declare.

**Financial Disclosure:** The authors declared that this study has received no financial support.

**Ethical Committee Approval:** Ethics committee approval is not required.